

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles. 601

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely. (829) (115) (24) (183)

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines. (602) (614)

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake. 601 561

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.* 601 The classification of parallel cousins

* By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Diegueño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado (184) (177)

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

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Boys also played a game, slinging mud at each other, in which they learned to dodge missiles without breaking from the skirmish line (see p. 338).

Girls were trained to carry little burdens balanced on their heads when they were but two years old. Later they assisted their mothers fetching water before sunrise. Girls of four could grind seeds very nicely, it was said: they were awakened when it was barely light and set to work on a basketful. A girl must show her proficiency at grinding such an amount at her marriage. I observed a little girl of five at play making pottery. Working with a ball of mud, she paddled it into form and pinched up the sides to form the vessel with the characteristic motions of an accomplished potter.

Children were not permitted to sleep after dawn. In fact, everyone in the household was roused at dawn, for to sleep after sunrise was to invite bad dreams causing sickness and death. The customs of running toward the dawn and throwing half-roused boys into the water were unknown here.

When children were old enough to understand, all the tales were told them, with a commentary of admonition. (Late youth was not the special time for them to learn as among the Pima.) In winter the boys went into the meeting house when stories were being told. A grandmother would tell them to a group of girls. There was no objection to telling tales in summer, but winter nights were conveniently long. To keep children from having bad dreams early in the night, they were kept awake listening to stories.

Games were played, of course, in imitation of their elders, but not dice, hand game, or cañute, normally gambling games. Some sports were peculiar to children. Boys alone played at hurling darts, slinging mud, arrows; both boys and girls played with tops. Dolls (haxaioi', "plaything") for girls were made of willow bark: a piece was split and bound to represent head, arms and legs.

Age status terms were few. They turned on the termination of

"Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 191.

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561 infancy, pre-adolescence and puberty, on parenthood, and on reaching the status of grandparenthood or menopause.

For example, Charlie Redbird, newly made a grandfather, was called kwurað'k, to the amusement of his second wife, although he was only in his late forties.

TABLE IX

	Male	Female
Infant of either sex to about 4 years old..	xuma' ra*	
A boy from 4 years to puberty (change of voice); a girl from 4 to 8 years.....	xuma'saiki'n	xuma'saizatci'n
Until a first child was born.....	máxai'	máxai'
Adult.....	ipa'	alnyað'k
Old age (after a man had a grandchild; a woman reached menopause).....	kwurað'k	ðk,yoi'

* Cf. xumai', a man's son.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

171 Puberty observances concerned girls alone: there was no com-
881 parable rite for boys unless the bee-killing ordeal be so consid-
ered. Nor, since the vision quest was almost wholly absent, was this an appropriate occasion for obtaining power. The girl's rite aligns with those of southern California in its emphasis on concern for the girl's future physiological well-being, with the
[134] "roasting" of the girl an essential. Like the Mohave, the girl was not sung over, but unlike them, and on the other hand like other southern Californians and the upland peoples of Arizona, a dance was held and the girl forced to run at dawn toward the east. On the whole, the impression prevails that here the girl's rite was relatively unimpressive and unimportant.

881 At her first period, a girl was secluded in a little lodge for eight days. During this period she sat all day long (but did not lie), doing nothing, until late in the evening when she was allowed to sleep. She remained alone, so that she would have no one to talk with and thus would avoid growing garrulous. They did not sing